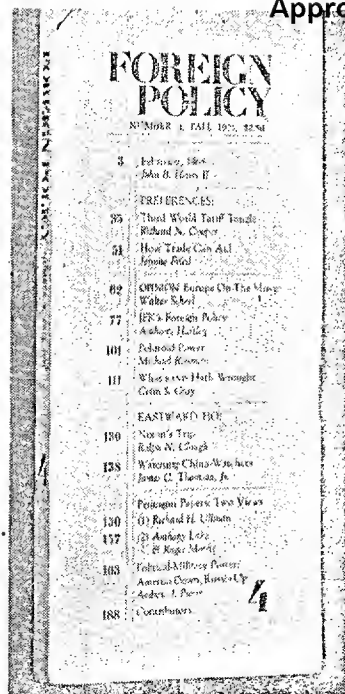


THE MEDIA



Campbell, Manshel: Airing dissident views

'Upstart Journal'

One day this summer a horse named Foreign Policy breezed to a win at New York's Youkers Raceway. Appropriately, the event is recorded this month in the first anniversary issue of a magazine named Foreign Policy, which notes that its namesake was awarded "the promise of stable peace in a peaceful stable." The horse's performance was a matter of little world consequence, but the magazine's inclusion of the self-mocking item underlines its editors' belief that a journal devoted to the analysis of international relations need not be pompous.

In fact, one of the chief distinctions of Foreign Policy, a quarterly that is brashly challenging the dominance of Foreign Affairs, the half-century-old publication of New York's prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, is a tone that is refreshingly lively and contentious. But that is by no means all that sets Foreign Policy apart from the conventional scholarly journal. Its format, a tall, narrow Samuel Antupit design, is crisply modern—though some subscribers complain that it makes the magazine hard to read and harder to hold. And its contents, which usually include articles on six or seven different aspects of foreign affairs, a long editorial by a world statesman, and column upon column of argumentative letters are almost invariably stimulating.

Free: In Foreign Policy's first year, its contributors, who are given free rein by its editors' insistence on spirited, controversial discourse, have assaulted such sacred cows as the foreign-policy bureaucracy and civilian strategic theorists. Often their revelations have preceded similar but far more clamorous efforts in other media. In the magazine's third issue, a piece by Leslie H. Gelb, who directed the Defense Department's study of the Vietnam war, sp

siderable detail the steps that deepened U.S. involvement in Vietnam well before The New York Times and other papers published the Pentagon papers. Similarly, an article in the current issue by 23-year-old John Henry II, documenting the military's attempt to use the 1968 Tet offensive as an excuse to send 206,000 more troops to Vietnam, was carried by the AP and became the basis for stories that have recently appeared in several major newspapers—including the Times.

Yet another Foreign Policy offering picked up by the press was a 35-page piece last spring by Harvard professor of government Stanley Hoffman, boldly suggesting an Algerian-type solution for Vietnam. McGeorge Bundy, former Presidential national-security aide and brother of William P. Bundy, the embattled prospective editor of Foreign Affairs (NEWSWEEK, Sept. 6), thought Hoffman's proposal so important that he wryly advised a Council on Foreign Affairs group to read the article "in that upstart journal, Foreign Policy." And in the four issues it has thus far published, Foreign Policy has prodded complacent statesmen with such cheeky titles as "Why Bureaucrats Play Games," "Cool It: The Foreign Policy of Young America" and "Lying Around Washington."

Age Gap: The magazine's disdain for institutional propriety reflects both the relative youthfulness of its contributors and the contending political persuasions they represent. Co-editor Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard points out that one significant difference between Foreign Policy and Foreign Affairs is a twenty-year gap in the average age of their editorial boards. "Henry Kissinger [48] is probably the youngest on their board," says Huntington. "He'd be the oldest on ours." But the most notable fact about the magazine—the variety of viewpoints expressed in its articles—derives

gether divergent voices under one cover. Foreign Policy's ten-man board, most of whose members have combined academic careers with government service, ranges all the way from arch-dove Richard A. Falk, professor of international law at Princeton (and key challenger to William Bundy's appointment at Foreign Affairs), to Zbigniew Brzezinski, the pragmatic head of Columbia University's Research Institute on Communist Affairs. "Just a year ago," says John Campbell, Foreign Policy's 31-year-old managing editor, "people were telling us it was inconceivable to get all these people who were ignoring each other on the same board. But we've succeeded admirably in our objective."

War: Ironically, the magazine itself was born of just such a disparity of views. Its founders and co-editors, Huntington and Warren Demian Manshel, were old friends who fell out over the Vietnam war. Huntington was a supporter of the U.S. presence; Manshel, a highly successful stockbroker, was adamantly opposed to the war. The pair decided to patch up their dispute with a publication that would welcome the expression of opposing opinions and, with financial backing from Manshel (who also supports The Public Interest, a quarterly dealing with social and economic issues), the magazine was launched last winter.

Foreign Policy is still too new to have made a measurable impact on Washington's policy shapers, and its circulation of 6,000 lags far behind Foreign Affairs' 70,000. Nonetheless, the fact that the magazine is selling briskly in the Capital and several copies are delivered to the National Security Council each month underscores Manshel's claim that Foreign Policy has "reached and been seen by the kind of people we want." And all three of the magazine's top editors confidently agree that in the first year of its existence, Foreign Policy has already achieved its aim of generating provocative ideas and stimulating rational argument. "We encourage our authors to go out on a limb," concludes managing editor Campbell, "and we have made the discussion of foreign policy more interesting and more intelligible. We're getting around."